

CHAS. T. CATES, JR., ANNOUNCES CANDIDACY FOR THE U. S. SENATE

Former Attorney-General of Tennessee Will Make Race For Democratic Nomination Subject To Action of Party In General Primary Election Next August.

Gen. Charles T. Cates, Jr., of Knoxville, this morning announces his candidacy for the democratic nomination for the United States senate, subject to the action of the party in the general primary election next August, in the following statement:—
To the Democracy of Tennessee:—

The activity of others and the widespread rumor sedulously circulated to the effect that I will not be a candidate seems to render necessary, thus early, the announcement of my purpose to seek the democratic nomination for United States Senator in the general primary election next August.

During these times, when the serious consideration of our people is fixed upon far graver matters arising out of the world-wide war, I have been most reluctant to bring to their attention any semblance of personal aspiration; but I am not insensible or indifferent to the claims upon me of democrats from all sections of our state, and animated by the desire to give the best in me to the service of our country and to render loyal and effective support to our great chief executive in this time of our country's peril, I shall ask in the primary election a commission from you to go before all of the voters of Tennessee as your candidate for United States Senator.

Answer To Propaganda.

It is not intended at this time and in this way to submit fully and in detail, as will be done hereafter, the reasons impelling me to ask and the grounds upon which I ask your support; but before briefly advertising to some of them it is my desire to make clear and unquestioned my position in respect of a claim, which, if it be true, would absolutely preclude me from speaking the nomination at this time.

I refer to the claim advanced on behalf of the Senior Senator from Tennessee to the effect that opposition to him is embarrassing to this war-time administration, and that his re-election is necessary to sustain our President in his efforts to bring the war to a successful conclusion. If either premise be sound and true the conclusion claimed logically follows. But at this time, looking at the record, it has seemed to me that the claim advanced is nothing more than the propaganda of syndicated federal office holders and some reactionary newspapers to camouflage the democracy of Tennessee into retaining their favorite in office. It remains to be seen whether those most active in giving currency to this propaganda are commissioned to speak for the President.

It is known of all men that our great chief executive does not hesitate in an emergency to state—does not feel himself "at liberty to abstain from" stating—what the emergency or public good requires. He has not failed to act on this principle in every emergency—and even in ordinary times has applied it in cases of senatorial candidates.

While under ordinary conditions the democrats of Tennessee would probably question the right of the President to make suggestions in reference to their candidates for office, yet we are not living in the calm and peaceful security of ordinary times. These days of peril are fraught with danger, seen and unseen, involving the security and happiness of millions yet unborn in this, our country. At such a time who can doubt that the President would speak if our country would be endangered and his administration embarrassed by opposition to the Senior Senator?

No Preferment Desired At Risk To Country.

And having fullest confidence in the singleness of purpose, the wisdom and patriotism of our President, let me say to you frankly that if in his opinion the re-election of the Senior Senator is demanded by reasons of state unknown to me—or if his administration will be embarrassed by opposition to the Senator—then and immediately upon becoming so advised I shall yield to the patriotic judgment of our great chief and endeavor to do my "bit" in some other field of endeavor, to the best of my ability.

It is my desire to put this matter beyond question—I do not want, I would not take, preferment at even the possibility of risk to the best interests of my country and my party. But until our great chief executive speaks, I respectfully submit to you that no one else is commissioned to speak for him, or to say that the re-election of the Senior Senator is essential to the plans of his administration or the public good; or that opposition to him will embarrass this war-time administration.

Therefore, seeing no reason of state why I should not seek, and nothing of embarrassment to our party or our government in seeking your suffrages, you will permit me at this time to briefly outline my views in respect of some of the great questions involving public interests.

Legislative Branch Must Not Encroach Upon or Hamper President.

Believing it to be essential to the preservation of our form of government that the functions of each of its several departments—executive, legislative and judicial—be kept separate and independent of the others—that immediately upon the declaration of war it became and was the constitutional right and duty of the President to direct and control all our forces in the prosecution of the war; and knowing that it is not only unwise but in contravention of our constitution for the legislative branch of the government to encroach upon the duties and powers of the executive, I shall not, when elected, as your representative in the Senate of the United States, vote for any measure designed, or the effect of be, to shorten the arm of the President or weaken his just influence or deprive him of his constitutional powers and functions as the chief executive of this government.

Such an attempt was made in the Senate of the United States in July, 1917, when an amendment to the food control bill was adopted by a vote of fifty-three to thirty-one, providing for a committee of congress to supervise the executive functions of the President in the conduct of the war, and in effect to control his actions as chief executive. Every vote in the negative was that of a democrat. The fifty-three affirmative votes comprised the entire republican membership of the Senate voting on that amendment, and a few democrats, including the present Senior Senator from Tennessee. That this amendment did not become part of the law was due to the efforts of administration leaders in both branches of congress who, in conference, ripped the amendment from the bill, following the President's protest against it.

In respect of this effort to shorten his arm and diminish his just constitutional powers the President, in a letter written to Congressman Lever—for publication—among other things mildly said:

"The constant supervision of executive action which the proposed committee contemplated would amount to nothing less than an assumption, on the part of the legislative body, of the executive work of the administration."

During these times pregnant with the fate of democracy, while many arms are needed there must be only one directing, responsible head—one chief executive, Woodrow Wilson.

Further Interference With Duties and Powers of President.

Just how far the Senior Senator is standing by the President may be further judged by his action in relation to the recent executive order designed to conserve the supply and regulate the distribution and delivery of fuel coal. I refer to the order recently issued by National Fuel Administrator Garfield, approved by the President, and authorized under an act of congress designed, as shown by its title:—

"To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel."

When notice was given that such an order would be issued certain fault finders in the Senate, after a few days rest from heckling the secretary of war, and realizing that their futile flutterings were understood and resented by the great body of patriotic citizens, protested and cried aloud in the name of "Business" that the country would be ruined by this executive order designed to carry into effect the true intent and spirit of the very law enacted to meet just such emergent conditions as confronted the country.

Thereupon two resolutions were offered in the Senate, requesting but in effect demanding that the order be suspended so that, as stated in one resolution—

"Protests may be heard, investigation made and information presented."

Or, as stated in the other resolution—

"Until a thorough investigation shall be made for the necessity of the proposed action."

So the Senate wanted to investigate and debate, when it was manifest that people were freezing and the channels of commerce choked. After haggling and debating, and by its attitude delaying preparation for compliance with the order, the senate adopted the first resolution. The Senior Senator voted for it.

What lawyer ever dreamed that the execution of an act of congress could be suspended by a resolution? Full power to meet the emergency had been solemnly conferred on the President. But the fault finders, without conceding that the President and his advisers, sworn to execute the laws, might have information of conditions known to them but which might be unwise to disclose to the world and to the enemy insisted on debating and investigating, thus sowing broadcast seeds of discontent and inflaming here and there passions of self interest, by creating doubts as to the "wisdom" or "necessity" of the action of the President—because the order was in effect his executive act.

So the National Fuel Administrator Garfield was, according to press despatches, hailed before a sub-committee of the Senate and there forced to disclose that the order suspending the operation of such industrial plants as were essential to war preparation was not only for the purpose of conserving the supply and providing coal for domestic consumers and to relieve a serious congestion in traffic, but also to secure coal for transports lying idle in our Atlantic ports, and unable for lack of coal to carry needed war material and food and other supplies to our boys and allies across the sea.

Nagging Senate committees had already succeeded in disclosing to the enemy whatever of weakness or lack there may be in our war preparations. They compelled the disclosure that transports were unable to sail for lack of coal, and now if they should go but a step further and compel



GEN. CHAS. T. CATES, JR.
Who This Morning Announces His Candidacy For the Democratic Nomination For the U. S. Senate.

publication as to which of those transports are intended to carry our troops to France, or food and comforts to our boys already there, and then compel the secretary of the navy or the heads of admiralty boards to disclose when such transports will sail, they will have succeeded in giving all the information necessary to the ruthless enemy to enable him to make his submarines most effective.

But his vote for the Senate resolution above referred to, and the consequent aid in disclosing to the world the desperate condition and vital needs of our transports are not the only acts of the Senator in relation to this act of the President now approved by the vast majority of patriotic citizens of this country.

On the 17th day of January, 1918, the President, in his administration, the Honorable John W. Green, wired the Senator asking to be advised, advised principally as to whether factories run by hydro-electricity were within the operation of the order.

After Mr. Garfield had been forced to proclaim to the world and so to the vigilant enemy and his spies in this country that our transports were unable to proceed, for lack of coal, on their voyages carrying war materials and supplies to our allies and boys in France, the Senator referred to Mr. Green's telegram and, as given to the newspapers for publication, after referring to the ruling exempting plants operated by hydro-electricity from the operation of the order, proceeded to volunteer the opinion that the order as applied to any consumer of coal was illegal. He said:

"The order was made under the authority supposed to be given by Section 25 of the food and fuel control bill. It is the opinion of lawyers here in which I concur that the section gives no control over the use of coal in the hands of consumers, but only the production, distribution and sale of it."

What is the meaning of this attack upon the legality of the President's order? Obviously it could not have been intended to lend the great name and reputation of the Senator to a suggestion that the order be not complied with or attacked in the courts? Such a course could only result in thousands freezing, in further congestion of traffic and our transports continuing to remain useless, shutting off the carrying of supplies to our troops abroad, while the Senate debated, lawyers quibbled and the slow course of litigation proceeded.

We would impute no improper motive to the distinguished Senator, but it is submitted to the judgment of a candid and patriotic people whether his action in the premises was encouraging to the President or helpful to the war preparations of the administration.

Now a word as to the legality of the order. We would not diminish the respect usually accorded the opinion of the distinguished Senator, but certainly the telegram sent by him could not have been written with the provisions of the act before him.

Even Section 25 referred to in his opinion provides:

"That the President of the United States shall be and he is hereby authorized and empowered whenever and wherever in his judgment necessary for the efficient prosecution of the war to fix the price of coal and coke whenever and wherever sold * * * to establish rules for the regulation of and to regulate the method of production, sale, shipment, distribution, apportionment or storage thereof among dealers and consumers, domestic or foreign."

But even if he misconceived the plain provisions of Section 25 he certainly did not take into consideration the spirit and intention of the act manifested by its title, set out above, and also clearly stated in Section 1, as follows:

"Section One: That by reason of the existence of a state of war it is essential to the national security and defense for the successful prosecution of the war and for the support and maintenance of the army and navy to assure an adequate supply and equitable distribution, and to facilitate the movement of food, feeds, fuel, including fuel oil and natural gas * * * hereafter in this act called necessities; to prevent locally or generally scarcity, monopolization, hoarding, injurious speculation, manipulation and private controls affecting such supply, distribution and movement; and to establish and maintain government control of such necessities during the war."

And then to put the matter beyond question Section One contains the following provision:

"The President is authorized to make regulations and to issue such orders as are essential effectively to carry out the provisions of this act."

That the executive order condemned by the Senator was necessary to meet a grave condition—a dangerous emergency—is now generally conceded, and as such it is approved; that it was within the plain mandate of the law, which the President was sworn to execute seems apparent from even a casual consideration of its provisions. Again, I say—

Let us stand by the President!

Water Power Should Be Conserved.

Believing that the last great natural resource belonging to and remaining within the control of the people of this country, to-wit: the public waters, and the power capable of development therefrom, should be conserved for the people, I am utterly opposed to any scheme or plan designed or the effect of which will be to deprive the people of full control over that water power or to turn it over to private monopoly to be exploited for profit at the expense of the people of this country.

In this connection it is not improper to observe that if our forefathers could have dipped into the future and if, in grants of the public domain, state and national, they had reserved to the people all mineral interests therein, the royalties, omitting precious minerals, from coal and iron and zinc and copper and marble and oil would now go a long ways toward defraying the expenses of this government.

Full control over, fair provisions for re-taking, and a royalty upon each horsepower of developed power or energy should be incorporated in any plan providing for the development or exploitation of the public waters of the United States by private capital. Therefore, I shall favor only such measures having to do with grants or licenses touching the development of the water power of this country as will retain full control

thereover in the interests of the general public, provide for re-taking on fair terms and permit the use and appropriation of such water power only upon the payment of a fair royalty upon the electrical energy or power developed therefrom.

It shall be my purpose to demonstrate that one of the water power bills pending in congress at this time and much exploited in this state as bearing the name of the Senior Senator does not properly safeguard the interests of the public, and in my opinion would result in utterly depriving the people of their water power and in vesting practically perpetual control thereof in private monopoly—without profit to the people and virtually at their expense.

More Ample Protection From Mississippi River At Government Expense.

The Mississippi river is not only a great natural highway, but is in effect a vast drainage canal carrying away the waters falling upon the higher and northern parts of this country and disposing of them and the accompanying silt along the lower reaches of the river, or in the Gulf of Mexico. The annual damages to property upon our western border from this great unshackled torrent runs up into the millions of dollars. In my opinion the lands in the states bordering upon this great national highway and drainage canal, over which the states have no sort of control—should be more amply protected from ravages by recurring floods, entirely at the expense of the general government.

Progressive Legislation For Labor.

Believing that labor, whether upon the farm or in the workshop or in any form of human activity, has the same right to protection under the law as does capital created by labor, I shall favor such progressive legislation as may be necessary to place labor upon the same footing with capital in the matter of organization, and to assure it just recompense as the fruit of its efforts.

For Adequate Protection To Farmers.

The farming interests, constituting the backbone and reserve strength of this country, should be fostered and developed by the application of the best thought and practical experience of the age. As experience may show the necessity therefor, there should be additional legislation making adequate provision for working capital through loans on farms at such rates of interest as usually obtain in cases of other borrowers of like responsibility; and securing such recognition of farmers' organizations as may be necessary to safeguard their interest and protect their products against the profiteer and private monopoly in the interest both of the producing farmer and the ultimate consumer.

Universal Military Training And Education For National Defense.

Believing that to be prepared for war is to safeguard the peace and happiness of our country, I am in favor of a system of universal military training.

Whether this system should be inaugurated during the course and amid the complex conditions of the war may be open to question. It might interfere with or so confuse plans now being worked out as to impede their progress or cripple their efficiency. But in my opinion at the earliest time consistent with the country's needs and interests universal military training should be made the fixed policy for national defense.

Such a system, placing the sons of all classes, rich and poor alike, upon the same footing in respect of training and education, is the most democratic ever devised. Plans should be worked out providing not only for military training of our young men but also permitting the carrying on, during such training, of vocational studies, fitting them for the duties of life—all at the expense of the general government, and which would be insignificant compared with the enormous sums necessary to carry on this war. Such course of training with accompanying educational facilities might be carried on in schools or colleges specially designed for that purpose or through and by means of institutions of learning now in existence.

It is not necessary to speak to the people of Tennessee, observant of the effects of military training upon their sons for even a few months, as to the benefits necessarily resultant from such training, especially in teaching them discipline and the best methods of caring for themselves. Such a system would not be entirely novel to the people of Tennessee. Its principle was approved by our forefathers, who early in the last century enacted laws requiring Tennesseans between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to undergo military training for a certain number of days each year. This system was in force in Tennessee until our civil war.

In my opinion it is not going too far to say that if universal military training had been established in this country ten years ago, and at the outbreak of the war in Europe there had been behind us in and reserve ten classes of the splendid young manhood of our nation trained in arms and fitted to care for themselves, with two or three classes in actual training, the Hun Emperor would have hesitated long before he would have treacherously conspired against us or caused to be murdered our women and children and destroyed our property upon the free high seas of the world.

No Alarmist—But Uphold Arms of President.

I would not have you look on me as an alarmist, but I would not be true to myself or worthy of the honor sought at your hands if I did not say to you that in my opinion this war into which we were dragged by tary despotism mad with the lust of conquest has only begun.

It is my deliberate judgment that no other nation has ever done more in the same length of time than has been done by this country within the past ten months to protect itself from a powerful, ruthless and conscienceless enemy. It may be true that some mistakes have been made, but let us remember that such is the history of self-governing peoples idealizing peace and unprepared for and abhorring war; and because we have not yet reached that aptitude for efficiency in preparedness and equipment for war attained by the enemy after a half a century of cunning, treacherous and persistent preparation for world conquest, we must not grow over-critical, or feel discouraged because of conditions—nor hamper or discourage our great leader by captious doubts or querulous complaints, but stand ready to uphold his arms, steadfast in faith that his patriotism, wisdom and far reaching statesmanship will lead through the shadows and dangers now besetting us into the sunshine and security of ultimate victory.

Enforce Rigidly Laws Against Treason and Sedition.

Let our men and women in this country stand ready to back up our chief executive in a more rigid enforcement of the law against treason, sedition and the dark and cunning practices of the Hun enemy throughout this country.

Protect Our Boys in France From Enemy in Their Rear.

The frontiers of our country's security are today along the battle lines in France. There the young manhood of this nation—our bravest and best—will grapple, yea, are grappling, with the barbarous and brutal Hun that their mothers and wives and sisters may live secure and in honor at home—that their fair land may not be ravaged as has been unhappy Belgium—that American democracy may not be enslaved to pay the price of world conquest by German autocracy; and that government of the people, for the people and by the people may not perish, but live, not only for their own security and happiness, but also to point the way to freedom and security for the oppressed of all climes.

And while the young men of our country are battling in far lands and on distant seas, let us stand ready for further sacrifices to give, and give, and give all that may be necessary to their support and comfort, and let us see to it that neither their fighting efficiency nor their comfort is endangered by the plots of alien enemies behind them in their own land, for we have cause to know that in each alien enemy or his protector and sympathizer there may be peril to our homes, to our sons on the battle fronts in France and to those keeping ceaseless vigil on the seas. Recent developments and disclosures by our government in relation to the machinations of Huns and their protectors living by thousands in this country should teach us to guard well against the alien enemy within our gates, who holds no faith in common with humanity, who is bound by no compact however sacred; who professes friendship and practices deceit and treachery, and who in the name of his Kultur would fill the world with rapine and bestiality and murder in their most horrid forms.

Must Be No Interference From Federal Officials.

Now a word more. There is much evidence and no little complaint that certain federal office holders are showing great activity in all matters political in this state. Let me say that while every democrat has the right to vote for whomsoever he chooses—that is the very essence of democracy—yet no holder of these offices is commissioned or has the right to use whatever of influence may inhere in such office, be it great or small, for the benefit of any candidate; nor does he have the right to control, or dictate nominations to offices of high or low degree. And if the power of federal patronage and officials be attempted to be used to influence the democratic vote of Tennessee in their free choice of a Senator, no doubt ways can be found to protect such officials from the folly of their indiscreet violation of federal laws and from such embezzlement of official power.

No Offices To Allure—But Submit Candidacy On Its Merits.

And now with neither offices to dangle before the worthy ambitious and aspiring or to allure their support—nor a machine to over-ride and awe opposition, I submit my candidacy upon its merits to the democracy of Tennessee, promising when elected not to become an office broker, a peddler in patronage, but to give not a scant half but unremitting time and the best that is in me to the service of our state and to the duties of the high office to which I aspire.

And while I may not hope to equal the splendid achievements of Grundy or Bell, of Harris or Bate or Carmack and that long line of Senators who have reflected honor on our commonwealth and have emblazoned her history upon the brightest pages of the republic, yet by emulating these great exemplars in loyal, and, if need be, self-sacrificing devotion and service to our country, it is my hope to make such a record for you and in your name as shall justify your confidence and support.

Respectfully,
CHARLES T. CATES, JR.

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